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Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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C O N F I D E N T I A L IAEA VIENNA 3222

EXDIS

DEPT PASS IO/SCT FOR AMBASSADOR TAPE

DEPT PASS USERDQ HQ WASHDC AND USERDA HQ GERMANTOWN AT DISCRETION

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: IAEA, PARM, SF
SUBJECT: SOUTH AFRICAN REPRESENTATION IN IAEA AND AMENDMENT TO
ARTICLE VI OF THE IAEA STATUTE

REF: (A) IAEA VIENNA 2855; (B) IAEA VIENNA 1780; (C) 76 IAEA
VIENNA 9990; (D) 76 IAEA VIENNA 8768

BEGIN SUMMARY. IN PRIVATE MEETING WITH CHAIRMAN, BOARD OF GOVERNORS, AND INDIAN AMBASSADOR MEHTA, WE REACHED AD REFERENDUM COMPROMISE AGREEMENT ON INTERLOCKING ISSUES OF SOUTH AFRICAN DESIGNATION TO BOARD OF GOVERNORS AND PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO ARTICLE VI OF THE IAEA STATUTE. AMBASSADOR CISSE GAVE ASSURANCE PROPOSED SOLUTION WOULD BE SUPPORTED BY AFRICAN MEMBER STATES ON BOARD OF GOVERNORS.

ACTION REQUESTED: AUTHORIZATION CANVAS FOR SUPPORT FOR SUGGESTED SOLUTION. END SUMMARY.

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1. SHORTLY BEFORE CONVENING ADMINISTRATION AND BUDGETARY COMMITTEE OF BOARD OF GOVERNORS APRIL 19, AMBASSADOR CISSE ASKED ME TO MEET PROVATELY WITH HIM AND INDIAN AMBASSADOR. WHEN WE CONVENED, CISSE REFERRED TO PREVIOUS DIALOGUE WE HAD HAD REGARDING QUESTIONS OF SOUTH AFRICAN DESIGNATION ON BOARD OF GOVERNORS (SEE REF C AND PREVIOUS) AND PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO ARTICLE VI OF THE STATUTE. HE THEN PROCEEDED TO OUTLINE FORMULA WHICH HE HAD APPARENTLY DISCUSSED EARLIER WITH AFRICAN MEMBERS ON THE BOARD (LESS SOUTH

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AFRICAL). FORMULA HE PROPOSED AS SOLUTION TO SOUTH
AFRICAN QUESTION WAS NO AMENDMENT TO STATUTE, BU SIMPLE
AGREEMENT TO DESIGNATE AN ADDITIONAL STATE ALONG WITH
TWELVE STATES PRESENTLY DESIGNATED.

2. WHILE CONSIDERING THIS PROPOSAL, AMBASSADOR MEHTA
AND I CITED PROBLEMS THIS WOULD RAISE SINCE IT WOULD HAVE
TO MEAN THAT NO MEMBER OF BOARD WOULD QUESTION DESIGNATED
LIST WHEN PROPOSED. IMPLICIT IN PROPOSAL WOULD BE
ASSUMPTION THAT SOUTH AFRICA WAS ONE OF NINE MOST ADVANCED
STATES AS PROVIDED IN ARTICLE VI.A.1 AND THAT IT HAD
THEREFORE DISPLACED EITHER JAPAN, SOVIET UNION, INDIA,
AUSTRALIA OR BRAZIL, WHICH WOULD BE PRESUMED TO HAVE
BECOME MOST REGIONALLY ADVANCED (SEE PARA 4, REF A).
ADDITIONAL DESIGNATION OF AFRICAN STATE WOULD BE BASED ON
PRESUMPTION THAT SOUTH AFRICA WAS NOT PART OF AFRICA
BUT, RATHER, PART OF ANOTHER AREA, PRESUMABLY
WESTERN EUROPE OR NORTH AMERICA. AMBASSADOR MEHTA
POINTED OUT THAT THIS FORMULA WOULD IN FACT BE PROMOTING
SOUTH AFRICA FROM UNSPECIFIED STATUS TO STATUS OF ONE OF
NINE MOST ADVANCED NUCLEAR NATIONS OF THE WORLD. I
EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT THIS FORMULA WOULD ONLY BE
EFFECTIVE PROVIDED NO ONE RAISED QUESTIONS, I.E., THERE
WOULD BE UNCERTAINTY EACH YEAR AT TIME DESIGNATIONS WERE
MADE.

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3. AMBASSADOR MEHTA AND I PROPOSED THAT NEATER FORMULA
WOULD BE TO AMEND STATUTE OF ARTICLE VI.A.1 BY ADDING
NINTH REGION WHICH COULD BE CALLED SIMPLY "OTHER" OR
"OTHER AREAS," TO WHICH ONE WOULD ASSIGN THOSE MEMBER
STATES WHICH ARE POLITICALLY ANATHEMA IN THEIR ARTICULAR
REGIONS, I.E., SOUTH AFRICA AND ISRAEL. THIS SOLUTION
WOULD HAVE EFFECT OF NOT NECESSARILY CHANGING SOUTH AFRICAN
STATUS OF BEING THAT OF MOST ADVANCED IN ITS PARTICULAR
AREA. IT WOULD ASSURE CONTINUED SOUTH
AFRICAN DESIGNATION AS MEMBER OF THE BOARD, ALTHOUGH
POSSIBLY BY ROTATION WITH ISRAEL. BY DEALING WITH THE
PROBLEM IN THIS WAY, MEMBERSHIP OF BOARD OF GOVERNORS WOULD
BE INCREASED FROM 34 TO 35 BY DESIGNATION OF AFRICAN STATE
(OTHER THAN SOUTH AFRICA) TO THE BOARD IN JUNE.

4. AS DISCUSSION OF THIS MATTER BECAME COMPLEX,
AMBASSADOR CISSE ASKED THAT GARRETT, SECRETARY TO THE
BOARD OF GOVERNORS, JOIN OUR MEETING AND HE REMAINED
THROUGHOUT REMAINDER OF MEETING.

5. AS REGARDS AMENDMENT OF ARTICLE VI, AMBASSADOR CISSE
PROPOSED ONE FURTHER ELECTIVE SEAT FOR AFRICA AND ONE
ADDITIONAL ELECTIVE SEAT FOR THE MIDDLE EAST AND SOUTH
ASIA, THUS MAKING A TOTAL BOARD MEMBERSHIP OF 37. I

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TOLD HIM THAT PERSONALLY SPEAKING I THOUGH THIS WOULD
BE A REASONABLE COMPROMISE BUT I THOUGH WE MIGHT LOOK
AT THE TWO "FLOATING" SEATS TO SEE THAT THE AREAS THAT
CURRENTLY SHARE THEM SHOULD BE ALTERED IN ORDER TO GIVE
SLIGHTLY INCREASED PARTICIPATION TO AREAS OTHER THAN
AFRICA AND THE MIDDLE EAST AND SOUTH ASIA. AFTER A PAUSE,
WHILE CISSE WAS APPARENTLY TRYING TO RECALL HIS PREVIOUS
CONVERSATIONS WITH THE AFRICANS, HE INDICATED EMPHATICALLY
THAT NO CHANGE SHOULD BE MADE IN THE TWO CURRENT FLOATING
SEATS. THE THREE OF US FINALLY AGREED TO THIS SOLUTION
AD REFERENDUM.

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6. BEGIN COMMENT. DEPARTMENT WILL NOTE FOREGOING SOLUTION
DIFFERS FROM MISSION PROPOSAL CONTAINED REF A, ONLY BY MAKING
NO PROVISION FOR ADDITIONAL WE DESIGNATED SEAT AND THAT IT
DOES NOT REPEAT NOT ALTER NATURE OF FLOATING SEATS. IN
CIRCUMSTANCES, I BELIEVE THAT TO OPEN UP SOLUTION BY
INCLUDING WE AND POSSIBLE LATIN AMERICAN INTEREST IN
ADDITIONAL SEATS COULD SCUTTLE PRESENT HIGHLY TENTATIVE
AGREEMENT AND THAT WE WOULD BE WELL ADVISED TO RESTRICT
CONSIDERATION TO PROPOSAL IMMEDIATELY BEFORE US--AS
WAS AGREED AT MOST RECENT MEETING ON AMENDMENT TO STATUTE
(SEE REF B).

7. I CONSIDER FOREGOING SOLUTION TO BE A FAIR AND
REASONABLE ONE IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES AND BELIEVE THAT IT
HAS REAL ADVANTAGES FOR US. IN MY VIEW, THESE ARE:

A) IT COULD MEAN THAT THE STATUTE SHOULD REMAIN INTACT AS
AMENDED FOR SOME YEARS TO COME. BASED ON PREVIOUS EXPERI-
ENCE, IT WILL REQUIRE AT LEAST THREE YEARS FOR THE
RATIFICATIONS OF THE VARIOUS PARLIAMENTS TO HAVE BEEN
COMPLETED AND THE STATUTE TO LEGALLY ENTER INTO EFFECT.
AS SEVEN YEARS HAVE ELAPSED SINCE THE LAST AMENDMENT TO THE
STATUTE, I BELIEVE WE CAN COUNT ON THE STATUTE WITH THE
PROPOSED AMENDMENTS ENDURING FOR AT LEAST FIVE YEARS.

B) IT WOULD PRESERVE SOUTH AFRICA'S ABILITY TO BE A
DESIGNATED STATE ON THE BOARD OF GOVERNORS, AND I BELIEVE
IT IS IN THE INTEREST OF ALL MEMBERS OF THE ORGANIZATION
THAT SOUTH AFRICA BE TIED INTO THE IAEA AS CLOSELY AS
POSSIBLE.

C) WHILE SOLVING THE SOUTH AFRICA PROBLEM, IT WOULD
INVOLVE A TOTAL INCREASE IN THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE BOARD TO
37, WHICH DOES NOT BASICALLY ALTER THE STRUCTURE OF AGENCY.
THE MAJORITY OF THE PRESENT BOARD IS ALREADY IN THE HANDS
OF THE GROUP OF 77, BUT THAT MAJORITY WOULD NOT BE
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INCREASED TO AS MUCH AS TWO-THIRDS OF TOTAL BOARD,
WHICH IF IT OCCURRED COULD ADVERSELY AFFECT THE VOTING SITUATION
IN THE BOARD, FOR EXAMPLE, AS PROVIDED UNDER ARTICLE VI.E
OF THE STATUTE.

8. PORPOSED SOLUTION IS PRESENTLY HIGHLY FRAGILE AND IT WILL
REQUIRE MAJOR EFFORT TO GATHER SUPPORT FROM ALL MEMBERS
OF THE BOARD. NEVERTHELESS, IT REPRESENTS A REASONABLE
COMPROMISE AND I HOPE TO BE AUTHORIZED TO PURSUE IT
FURTHER. END COMMENT.

9. I HAVE CONFIDENTIALLY INFORMED RES REPS OF AUSTRALIA,
CANADA, AND UK OF THIS AD REFERENDUM AGREEMENT AND WOULD
PROPOSE, FOLLOWING DEPT APPROVAL OF THIS SOLUTION, TO
INFORM OTHER WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES.

10. WE AGREED THIS WAS HOPEFUL DEVELOPMENT, BUT THAT
IT WAS ESSENTIAL FOR SUCCESS OF DEMARCHE CURRENTLY BEING
MADE TO SOUT AFRICA THAT FOREGOING PROPOSAL BE HELD
EXTREMELY CLOSELY AT LEAST UNTIL END OF MAY.

11. REQUEST AUTHORIZATION DEVELOP SUPPORT FOR FOREGOING
SOLUTION. STONE

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<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

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Message Attributes

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